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Wednesday, 27 September 2000, 3 p.m.

New York

President	Mr. Ouane	(Mali)
Members	Argentina	Mr. Listre
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Heinbecker
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Netherlands	Mr. Hamer
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Yel'chenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Holbrooke

Agenda

Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998), 1239 (1999) and 1244 (1999)

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00-66114 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted

Security Council resolutions 1160 (1998), 1199 (1998), 1203 (1998), 1239 (1999) and 1244 (1999)

The President (*spoke in French*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Bernard Kouchner, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I welcome Mr. Kouchner and invite him to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, document S/2000/878.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Bernard Kouchner, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I give him the floor.

Mr. Kouchner: In my presentation I would like to focus on three areas. First, what have we done so far in Kosovo in our 15-month presence, from the moment we arrived in a war-torn Kosovo? Secondly, where do we stand today on our biggest immediate challenge: the preparation of the municipal elections to be held on 28 October — the first democratic elections in Kosovo for at least a generation? And thirdly, what are the biggest challenges ahead and what will be our policy priorities after those elections?

Let me start with how I assess the work that we have done so far since the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) arrived in Kosovo some 15 months ago — very briefly, because I know that members are aware of these matters.

On the political front, we have managed to include political representatives from all communities in our work. We created the Joint Interim Administrative Structure (JIAS) last December.

In the Kosovo Transitional Council, we have 36 members from all communities and from all parts of society debating critical issues. These are lively, stimulating and very important debates. And the debates are very frank — between the communities, not between UNMIK and the Kosovars.

In the Interim Administrative Council (IAC), the pillar heads of UNMIK work together with the leading Kosovo Albanian representatives and with Mrs. Trajkovic from the Serb National Council. Every regulation of UNMIK is discussed here before I, in my capacity as Special Representative of the Secretary-General, take the final decision.

The 20 joint UNMIK-Kosovo administrative departments are all up and running. They have about 60,000 Kosovars from all communities on their payroll; that figure will eventually rise to some 65,000. In other words, the Council is in charge of the payroll of 60,000 to 65,000 civil servants in Kosovo.

I believe that there are a number of other achievements in Kosovo of which members are aware. With the help of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) pillar of UNMIK, we have managed without major problems the return of close to 1 million refugees. Please note that not only have we managed to deal with those one million persons, but we have also managed to deal with an additional 100,000 returnees, freshly returned mainly from Germany, Switzerland and other European countries. I have asked those countries to stop these returns, because winter is coming.

With the help of the United Nations pillar, we have established a functioning civil administration in all areas of public life everywhere in Kosovo. But I have to say that we got the necessary staff very, very slowly, though now this is close to being done.

With the help of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) pillar, we have developed the media sector and have started a broad-

based effort to build democratization. I will say more about the election process later in my statement.

With the help of the European Union pillar, we have laid the foundation for a functioning market economy. That is easy to say, and easy to set up — but not easy to adapt to the real conditions of life on the spot.

With the help of KFOR, we have demilitarized the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and, with OSCE, we have started to build a genuine Kosovo police. We now have a bit fewer than 2,000 Kosovo police officers; our goal is to have some 4,000 Kosovo police officers in the coming six months to one year.

More recently, in another important example of cooperation with KFOR, we took over the Zvecan lead smelter of the Trepca complex to address an immediate public health emergency and at the same time to lay the foundations for administering Kosovo's assets and creating a multi-ethnic workforce. The whole operation was done for the benefit of the local population of all communities. I have received the most recent numbers from the blood tests among the workers, children and pregnant women in Zvecan; believe me, this was really a health emergency. Already, Serb workers have started again to work at the Zvecan smelter.

My last example of exemplary cooperation by all pillars of UNMIK and KFOR was ensuring security on the critical day of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia elections last Sunday, 24 September, although I would say that I sometimes would have wished that cooperation to be even stronger and more united.

Of course, there are not only achievements and successes. We at UNMIK, we here in the Security Council, and we in the international community at large should be very frank with ourselves. One key mistake was that we often tried to implement "pure" but unrealistic policy programmes, instead of taking the still-existing conflict circumstances into account. But UNMIK and KFOR are not a post-conflict mission; they are a low-intensity-conflict mission. We had to learn that the absence of war does not mean that the mission area has already entered into a post-conflict situation.

Let me give a few examples. In economics, it was a mistake to try to develop a pure market economy, while neglecting such immediate and basic social needs as shelter, housing, utilities and social employment. In education, it was a mistake at the beginning to insist on multi-ethnic schools, thus de facto preventing minority children from receiving any schooling at all. In justice, we tried to build a local judiciary and failed to bring in international judges and prosecutors, which was necessary. There is also a need to give the Special Representative special powers to build a proper judiciary system. In the media, we tried to work for self-regulating regimes, while the need to take strong decisions was unavoidable. When a Kosovar newspaper publishes the name of a suspect, you cannot accept that, because the so-called suspect will be killed.

I think that we have by now corrected this approach. You have to do both at the same time: address the immediate needs and lay the foundations for sustainable long-term solutions. Of course, the biggest problem that we face is the situation of members of non-Albanian communities. Serbs and Roma, in particular, are often still excluded from daily life and are still under great personal security risks. We have tried to counter this truly deplorable situation with a multitude of initiatives, such as the agenda for coexistence, which includes special assistance programmes for the Serbs and the establishment of specialized local community offices. I inaugurated several of these offices just recently. These offices work exclusively to facilitate access to services for and to increase protection of minority members.

Another key problem that is still very bad is the fate of missing persons and detainees. I am sorry to bother the Council with this problem. I have addressed this issue here several times already. I am glad that UNHCR has appointed a Special Envoy to address their fate, but I fear that not much will be achieved for missing and imprisoned Kosovo Albanians if the international community does not press Belgrade hard to change its so-far uncompromising stance. At this very moment, 68 prisoners recently released from Serb prisons are holding a hunger strike in Kosovo in solidarity with their colleagues still incarcerated. They have reported that they were tortured during their detention. I am extremely concerned about the remaining prisoners, who have been held in Serbia for 17 months and who may now be forgotten by the world during this time of political turbulence in Serbia proper.

Let me go to my second point: preparations for the 28 October elections. Together with OSCE, we

have worked for 14 months to prepare the best possible elections. I would like to address three areas: the technical preparation, the ongoing electoral campaign — including, of course, political violence — and the non-participation of the Serbs in the electoral process.

The civil administration and institution-building pillars of UNMIK — the second and third pillars — have worked hard to conduct a full-fledged voter-registration process. I am confident that we will be able to have a complete and accurate final voters' list ready for the elections on 28 October. Given the magnitude of the task, the fact that there was very little data to start with and Belgrade's policy of non-cooperation, this process has been very complicated, but I am confident that we will have a solid basis for the elections. Around 1 million people have applied to be registered as voters. In addition, we have had a very lively candidate-registration process, with over 5,000 candidates belonging to 19 parties, 2 coalitions, 3 citizens' initiatives and 15 individual candidates.

The electoral campaign started on 13 September. So far, it has gone well, with no major incidents. This was not necessarily to be expected. In August, we experienced a significant upsurge of political violence directed in particular at members of the Democratic League of Kosovo. UNMIK, UNMIK police and KFOR, in another concerted effort, have set in motion a mechanism to address this kind of violence, offering, inter alia, special protection measures for a wide range of candidates. I am happy to report that, since the creation of this mechanism and the beginning of the political campaign, the political violence has decreased substantially. If members are interested, I am ready to distribute statistical charts based on figures collected since the beginning of our mission.

But, of course, violence remains a very difficult issue every day in Kosovo. And, of course, the electoral campaign will go on for another four weeks. We will have to remain very cautious and be able to react quickly to any problems. I think it is fair to say that, both from the technical point of view as well as from the point of view of a clean and calm electoral campaign, all the elements are there to hold successful elections on 28 October. I hope we will.

In this respect, how can we judge the third element: the non-participation of members of the Kosovo Serb minority in these elections? Of course, I respect the decision of the Serb National Council. I respect their argument. It is true that both the security situation as well as the small number of Serb returnees make it difficult for them to participate, but in my view it was a wrong decision and a political mistake. These elections will be just the first of many. Nothing will be prejudiced by participating in them, neither on the Albanian nor on the Serb side, and we are working hard to address the problems of the Serbs. As an example, KFOR and UNMIK police are working every day to improve the security situation of all minority members. Together with Bishop Artemije, we have set up a Joint Committee to facilitate the return of displaced Serbs to their homes in Kosovo.

Let me conclude by saying that I am happy that the Kosovo Serbs are willing to participate in the elected municipal structures and that the Albanians have already accepted such a process. At the end of the day, we will have representative municipal assemblies with participants from all national communities. It will take time, but we remain determined to foster coexistence and thus lay the foundations for eventual reconciliation. The first democratic elections will be a very important step in such a process.

(*spoke in French*)

I would now like to briefly address the third point. What is ahead? Where are we going? What will happen in Kosovo after the municipal elections? How do we envisage the path ahead? In my view there are several problems or solutions.

First of all, we will have to implement the electoral results in the municipalities. We have to turn the results of the municipal elections into a reality, and it might not be easy. We hope everything happens in a proper and calm way. We know that each candidate signed an attestation according to which he promises to respect not only the outcome of the elections, but to assume all democratic responsibilities in the towns that are involved. The democratic tradition in Kosovo, even if it did exist a long time ago, has not existed for some years.

But, I believe that the Kosovars really are ready for and aspire to establishing true democracy. On behalf of the United Nations and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), I travelled around in the provinces to explain the position of the United Nations mission. I called it my "outreach campaign". I spoke with thousands and

thousands of people in each town who came to hear what our position is and to ask questions.

The general impression that I can give you — which I believe to be the right one — is that the voters as well as the candidates want there to be a democratic election. They are ready for democratic government in the municipalities and elsewhere.

But that does not suffice. Even if that does happen — and I hope that it does, remember that this mission was said to be impossible — even if it becomes even slightly possible — and I would be the first to rejoice — that would not be sufficient. The ambiguities of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) remain. We have to explain what appears in resolution 1244 (1999), that is to say, its very reason for being: self-government and substantial autonomy.

We want the municipal authorities to function with those principles in mind, i.e. self-government and substantial autonomy. For that purpose, account must be taken of those elections so as to strike a new balance amongst the administrative elements that have been established over the past 15 months. Some parties will show themselves to be stronger than others. That also must be taken into account. And I will make proposals along that line.

I have therefore been proposing to the Kosovars whom I have been meeting in all these 30 municipalities of Kosovo a pact. We changed the name from a contract. The pact is that municipal elections are to be held in a proper, democratic and calm way and then a discussion of substantial autonomy would follow. Take your municipal fate in hand in a democratic and proper way, by means of a vote, and then we can hold further discussions. UNMIK and the Kosovars can find the best way to give them greater responsibility, because greater responsibility is what is needed. Greater responsibility would be given to an administration that would then be closer to the Kosovars.

Some points must be made quite clear. I call upon them to reduce ethnic violence. The Serbs have to be free to travel from their enclaves — I won't call them ghettos, but they are a lot like them. Not only must the political authorities who have signed statements, but the Kosovars themselves must agree to allow Serbs to become full-fledged citizens in the Kosovo they have.

In that connection I am encouraged — I have spoken to you about this and you can look at the figures — by the improvement in the level of violence and especially since the campaign began. Communities must all enjoy the same rights. This is still not yet the case. One hears that it will take an entire generation to accomplish that, well I know that. But I think that the degree of political maturity in Kosovo is such that it could happen faster.

Secondly, we have to develop the economy of course. And that is a very big job. It is not privatization — that is too technical, too theoretical when you look at the reality — but there has to be some opening of enterprises. In the former Yugoslavia, you had public State property, State property, cooperative property, etc. We have to work to give investors confidence and develop the economy. We're still too dependent on donors, and the European Union in particular, which has shown itself to be very generous.

Lastly, we definitely have to place our trust in the Kosovars, whatever the difficulties may be, whatever residual hatred may appear, despite our fatigue, even with the depression that we feel in the evening when we see that we have not made enough headway. Nonetheless, the Kosovars must be given responsibility. There is no democratic solution in Kosovo without going through the phase of administration being handed over to the Kosovars and democracy given to them as well.

Otherwise — there are some unfortunate signs that show us that we might not achieve our end — otherwise, as I say, the international presence, in particular the military presence might become occupation forces, and that's why I think that we have to get ourselves out of this uncertain situation as soon as possible so that the Kosovars can be given a positive view of what their future can be, as well as the future of their children.

Mr. Holbrooke (United States of America): Thank you, Mr. President, for calling this important briefing. Thank you, Mr. Secretary-General, for demonstrating by your presence here today the importance that you attach to this issue and the support that you, along with all of us, have for Bernard Kouchner.

It is a great honour to welcome my good friend, Bernard Kouchner, back to the Security Council again

to hear his report, and again, as I have said so many times before, I don't think one could have picked a better person for the job. He has approached it with just the right mix of creativity and firmness. He has respected his mandate. He is protecting, or trying to protect under exceedingly difficult circumstances, the interests of all Kosovars. He has my Government's full support.

We have listened carefully to what he said, and we support what he has done. We would suggest strongly that all the people of Kosovo be allowed to wage a campaign free of intimidation in the elections next month. This is a very important election in Kosovo. It will be a historic watershed for the Albanian people of Kosovo, and for the Serb minority in Kosovo, it will be a chance to pick their own destiny within the framework of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).

But, talking about elections, allow me to switch briefly to the very dramatic events that are now taking place in Yugoslavia. We are in the middle of a period of immense historical importance in Yugoslavia. The people have voted resoundingly for a democratic future, and the world is listening and watching even as we speak.

I commend you, Secretary-General, for the statement you made this morning, and I would like to also quote President Clinton, who said earlier this morning:

> "What Europe and the United States should do is support the expressed will of the Serbian people, and it certainly appears from a distance that they had a free election and somebody is trying to take it away from them. But whatever we do, I think, should be consistent with the wishes of the majority of the people there."

The regime in Belgrade has taken every step to prevent a fair election. It tried to rig the election and distort the results. The Chairman-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the European Union have concluded that the election was marred by widespread irregularities. President Milosevic even tried to manipulate the vote in Kosovo, as he has before.

In this context, I wish to commend again Bernard Kouchner and his colleagues in the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), as well as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces and other forces in the Kosovo Force (KFOR), for the extraordinarily important work they did last Sunday to prevent an outcome in Kosovo that could have created a false outcome throughout the rest of Yugoslavia. I cannot say how important it was that Bernard Kouchner was out early, showing the world that there was an absolute theoretical, mathematical limit to the number of votes that were cast in Kosovo. I commend you, Mr. Kouchner, for an extraordinarily important contribution to determining the free will of the Yugoslav people, in your activities within the framework of your responsibilities as the Secretary-General's Special Representative.

Again, let me be clear: we are at a historic moment in the destiny of the Balkans. The vote appears to have been a landslide for change and democracy and Europe. And even the Yugoslav Government has now been forced to concede that Milosevic received fewer votes than his opponent. By its own calculations, which nobody else in the world accepts, he came out at least eight points behind. The call for a second round is a clear attempt to defeat the expressed will of the Yugoslav people.

Credible evidence shows that the opposition is definitely on its way to a resounding victory. The opposition's conclusions rest on official data compiled at all polling places where the votes were actually counted with all parties present. This is in sharp contrast to the regime's preliminary results, for which no supporting credible evidence has been produced. The opposition is therefore correct when it says that there is no need for a second round.

Let us in the Security Council, in this historic Chamber, in this most important of international peacemaking and peacekeeping bodies, have no illusions about what is going on. We in this Chamber and elsewhere have dealt first hand with the Belgrade regime's failed policies in Bosnia, Kosovo and Croatia. We saw President Milosevic's disregard for the electorate in 1996, but we believe that time is running out. The brave voters of Serbia have now made it clear, with their message of determination, that they wish to end Yugoslavia's international isolation, rebuild its broken economy and form a Government that is neither feared by, nor fears, its people.

And what of the international community? It will, can and should play an important role in supporting

democratic government in Yugoslavia. Obviously, when and if — and I believe the correct word here is "when" — a democratically chosen Government is installed in Belgrade, it will not agree with every position of the outside world, and the outside world, including the United States, will not agree with every position that it takes. But that is the nature of the free exchange between independent States. If the winds of change blow true, a Government in Belgrade, committed to respecting the will of its people, will take its rightful place in the international community — including, I believe, in the United Nations.

We, the United States, will be prepared to take steps with our friends and allies to lift existing sanctions once a democratic Government has assumed power. We will welcome its application for membership in the United Nations, in accordance with existing General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. Yugoslavia will become a participant and a partner in regional efforts to strengthen and build the institutions of free market democracy.

These are very hopeful developments. As I said at the outset, and stress, we are at a watershed moment in the history of the Balkans. The proud people of Yugoslavia have finally been able to make a statement about what they wish. It is time for their voice to be heard.

In conclusion, let me thank Mr. Kouchner again for his exhaustive efforts, his Herculean energies, his commitment in the face of extraordinary difficulties — physical, bureaucratic, political — and his personal sacrifices on behalf of the cause of peace in Kosovo, as well as his contribution to the most important electoral event in the Balkans in, in my view, the entire post-cold-war period, if not the entire post-Second-World-War period.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of the United States for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): Bangladesh warmly welcomes Mr. Kouchner today to brief us at the Council. We have listened with great attention to his very important statement. We are heartened by the achievements of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the positive developments in Kosovo, but at the same time feel that the pace of return to normalcy needs to be accelerated. UNMIK has come a long way against many odds in the six months since the Security Council mission visited Kosovo, where we had occasion to see first hand the enormity and complexity of the issues.

I would make the following points today on the report (S/2000/878) of the Secretary-General and the presentation of Mr. Kouchner.

First, regarding the elections, we welcome the steps taken by Mr. Kouchner for holding the municipal elections in Kosovo on 28 October. These elections will be the first major step towards the development of democracy. The timely completion of the civil registration process, particularly of the ethnic Albanian community, is a big step forward. We regret, however, that the vast majority of the Kosovo Serbs and some other minority communities could not participate in registration due to intimidation by hardline elements. We emphasize the importance of full participation by all in the local administration in order to restore effective peace.

Secondly, regarding the participation of moderate Serbs, we also welcome the participation since June in the Interim Administrative Council (IAC) and the Kosovo Transitional Council (KTC) of the Serb National Council, under the leadership of Bishop Artemije. This is a success for UNMIK in its outreach efforts aimed at including minority communities in democracy-building in Kosovo. We hope that others will follow the lead and join together in the quest for peace.

Thirdly, regarding the security situation, there have been sporadic eruptions of politically motivated violence in recent months in Kosovo. There is a likelihood that such incidents will increase in the pre-election period. Major efforts, including the reassignment of resources, should be made to curb the probability of any incidents that might disrupt the electoral process. We encourage the high priority given by UNMIK in deterring election-related violence and in enforcing the election code of conduct. We are disturbed by the continuation of incidents of civil violence and unrest in different parts of Kosovo, including Mitrovica. The leaders in Kosovo must do more to end the cycle of violence. We call on all Kosovars, irrespective of their ethnic origins, to unite against those who disrupt peace and pose a threat to building a safe, democratic and multi-ethnic future for Kosovo. We encourage UNMIK in its continued efforts

to improve security, the rule of law and the return of refugees and internally displaced persons.

Fourthly, the judiciary in Kosovo has been dysfunctional for quite a long time, mainly due to the lack of judges. We welcome the appointment last month of an additional 136 professional judges and prosecutors and 309 lay judges in courts of different regions of Kosovo, thus bringing the number of judges close to the target level. We observe in the report that the reinforcement of the judicial system has resulted in greater levels of activity for dispensing justice. This, accompanied by an improved penal system, will contribute greatly towards the establishment of the rule of law.

Fifthly, we have referred to the problem of missing persons and detainees quite a number of times in the Council. It remains a major source of tension between the different ethnic communities. Continuation of this situation is counter-productive to attempts at building inter-ethnic harmony. We have underscored the appropriateness of the appointment of a special envoy of the Secretary-General for missing persons and detainees. In this context, we welcome the appointment by the High Commissioner for Human Rights of Ambassador Henrik Amneus as her Special Envoy on persons deprived of liberty, including prisoners, detainees and missing persons in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We hope that his role will make a substantial contribution in resolving the fate of nearly 3,500 persons who remain missing and detained.

In conclusion, I would like to note that the restoration of peace to a region which has been a hotbed of conflict and inter-ethnic violence is a task of immense complexity. The notable progress made thus far shows that efforts are on the right track. I pay special tribute to the untiring efforts of Mr. Kouchner in leading the attempts of the United Nations in establishing democracy, peace and security in Kosovo. I commend him for carrying out a difficult job with patience and persistence.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): The detailed presentation by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, complementing the Secretary-General's report, demonstrates the extent of the task carried out by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) in all areas since the summer of 1999. Mr. Bernard Kouchner has also described very precisely the provisions made by UNMIK a month before the municipal elections of 28 October to create the necessary conditions for the proper development of this important phase.

Since its creation, the work of UNMIK, persistent and methodical, has given good results. My delegation pays a warm tribute to it and to Mr. Bernard Kouchner and his entire team. The United Nations Mission has struggled relentlessly, particularly against acts of ethnic violence, discrimination and violations of human rights; unacceptable traps by extremists to delay the necessary reconciliation within Kosovar society. The European Union has clearly condemned them. But thanks to the efforts of the United Nations and the dialogue conducted by the Special Representative with community leaders, as well as the many proximity initiatives launched throughout the province, the wall of mistrust is beginning to crack.

The return of representatives of the Serb community to the mixed administrative structures following the signing of the agreement between Mr. Kouchner and Bishop Artemije on the security of the Serb populations is an indication of this. The adoption of the Airlie Declaration and the unanimous support the interim authorities have given it is another indication. The "pact for Kosovo society" is also promising. Patience and determination are thus beginning to be slowly rewarded.

I emphasize that, here in this Chamber, because we do not have good news to celebrate every day. The success of the United Nations team in Kosovo is a good example of what the United Nations can accomplish.

Methodical work has been necessary for more than a year. Everything has had to be rebuilt in every sector, even from scratch. Administrations have been set in motion again, people have been trained, sources of finance have been established. UNMIK's humanitarian activities have been successful. Reconstruction and development are now high on the international agenda. The European Union, by far the main donor of funds to Kosovo and the Balkans, plays an essential role. Its total contribution to Kosovo in 1999 and 2000 is nearly 8 billion euros, or nearly $7 billion. Recently the European Union, as well as France at the national level, has made a more specific contribution to combat the environmental and public health risks arising from the Trepka complex and the Zvecan factory.

I also wish to underscore the special importance of the municipal elections to be held on 28 October in the province. This will be a landmark election with the passage of Kosovo to a genuine autonomy, whose contours, as Mr. Kouchner has said, have yet to be defined. The elections are being actively prepared by UNMIK; with the assistance of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the process of registering approximately 1 million Kosovars was conducted under exemplary conditions, even if we must regret that the pressures of the Belgrade regime drove the members of the Serb community to remain outside this process. Moreover, every effort has been made to ensure a genuine democratic debate, sheltered from the provocations of the enemies of freedom. The United Nations is mindful of these and is vigilant to ensure by persuasion and when necessary firmness, respect for the rules of the game. We encourage UNMIK and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to persevere in this direction.

In the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on 24 September, despite the gross falsifications of those in power, the Serbian people turned out *en masse* and pronounced themselves unequivocally in favour of democratic change.

We welcome the security measures taken In Kosovo by UNMIK and KFOR to make it possible for those who wished to vote to do so freely. Let us all hope that in a month's time the voters of Kosovo will have overwhelmingly made an equally clear choice — peaceful rejection of hatred, of political manipulation, of attacks on freedom and of contempt for minorities — the choice of democracy, reconciliation and the participation of all in the conduct of civil affairs; in other words, the choice of Europe and the future. Let us together ensure that that choice is not thwarted.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Bernard Kouchner, for his briefing. Unfortunately, his statement has not given cause for either optimism or a change in our well-known assessment of the persistent crisis situation in Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Resolution 1244 (1999) is being implemented partially and in an unsatisfactory manner. As in the past, the principles agreed in the framework of that resolution for the settlement of the Kosovo crisis continue to be disregarded. Despite isolated positive developments and the selfless efforts of the personnel of the international presence under the most dire conditions, the leadership of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) continue to act in contravention of the Security Council and in violation of resolution 1244 (1999) on many questions of principle.

It is true that Bernard Kouchner has been endowed with great powers, but they are not unlimited. He is compelled to act strictly within the framework of his mandate. We consider absolutely inadmissible the statements by Mr. Kouchner in the interview in *The Financial Times* of 16 September, where he openly preached his own views and actually called for independence for Kosovo. We also find inappropriate his references to alleged ambiguities in resolution 1244 (1999). The provisions of that resolution that are being disregarded today were formulated very, very clearly. The responsibility for their non-implementation rests squarely shoulders of the leadership of UNMIK and KFOR.

We view the recent incident in which the Russian Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was detained at Kosovo's administrative border by KFOR soldiers who attempted to search him as a flagrant violation of the provisions of resolution 1244 (1999), of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. There were similar acts by KFOR with respect to diplomats from Spain, Japan and other countries. KFOR personnel demanded that the head of the Belgrade office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ms. Barbara Davis, undergo a search of her person. All this can be viewed only as attempts to impede diplomatic representatives from working on part of the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia where they are accredited. We find absolutely unacceptable the requirement to have any additional authorization beyond the normal diplomatic accreditation to Belgrade in order to perform diplomatic functions in Kosovo.

Russia has made a very strong protest against these incidents. However, the leadership of KFOR and UNMIK have not only failed to take adequate measures to put an end to the illegal practice of searching foreign diplomats, but have also involved UNMIK's

international police and the Albanian police in those searches. There is thus a deliberate policy to impede the work of diplomatic personnel accredited to Belgrade, a policy aimed at cutting off the Belgrade diplomatic corps from Kosovo, illustrating the customary attempt to tear Kosovo away from Yugoslavia.

The 14 September statement of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Contact Group stressed that the security situation in Kosovo continued to be tense. KFOR and UNMIK themselves recognize the unsatisfactory security situation with regard to the non-Albanian population, the removal of illegally held stocks of weapons and the inadequate control of the activities of former members of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), who are now incorporated in the Kosovo Protection Corps. In this context, a recent decision of the Belgian division of the influential organization Doctors Without Borders is telling. It decided to cease its activities in Kosovo due to the inability of KFOR and UNMIK to stop the "ethnic cleansing", terrorism and violence against the non-Albanian population of the region.

As a result of the campaign of violence unleashed by Kosovo Albanian extremists, members of the non-Albanian communities continue to leave the area. As before, nothing is being done to create safe conditions for a return to the region of non-Albanian refugees. There continues to be a danger of the spread of inter-ethnic conflict to communities in the south of Serbia. It is essential to do everything possible to prevent the emergence of a new threat to regional peace and security.

As we have done before, we insist on an early commencement of the negotiating process on the status of Kosovo. An excellent basis for the work to define the parameters for substantial autonomy for Kosovo could be found in the principle on interim self-government for Kosovo adopted in May at the Tokyo meeting of the G-8 working group. Clearly, work in this area should involve official representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. To that end, it would be appropriate to actively use the mechanism of the UNMIK-Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Joint Committee. In the context of that Committee it will be possible to resolve the question of beginning negotiations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to define the status of the international presence in the region. We are concerned that the UNMIK command is ignoring this important provision of resolution 1244 (1999).

It is also high time for a return to the region of the agreed number of Yugoslav military personnel. At the first stage, it should be possible to reach agreement on a limited contingent of Yugoslav border guards coming to the Kosovo part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia border.

We continue to view as erroneous the concept developed by UNMIK of total privatization of locally situated State property of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The destruction of economic ties in the region only strengthens the drive to separate Kosovo from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Our position is well known: at present, the requisite conditions for holding municipal elections are lacking. For such elections to mark an important step towards democracy in accordance with resolution 1244 (1999), they must be thoroughly prepared and must be democratic.

In practice, violence reigns in Kosovo. Even Albanian political parties are subjected to a coordinated campaign of intimidation and blackmail by the former KLA. Kosovar Serbs and members of other ethnic minorities confront terrorism and are forced not to participate in the elections at all. When it comes to organizational preparations for the elections, the situation is no better. As reported in the Kosovo newspaper *Koha Ditore* on 21 September 2000, UNMIK officials have acknowledged that from the very outset there were significant logistical and organizational difficulties with the voter registration process. Lists of voters were lost, and voter information even contained distortions. Consequently, the newspaper concluded, only 900,000 of the more than one million registered inhabitants of Kosovo had actually participated in the registration, and by no means all of those had succeeded in being properly registered. In the view of experts, there were errors or distortions with respect to some 350,000 inhabitants of Kosovo. To correct those errors, it would for all intents and purposes be necessary to repeat the registration process. Given that situation, we consider it essential that independent experts carry out an unbiased review of the results of the registration.

In view of all those facts, the municipal elections that Mr. Kouchner has been urging for October cannot at this stage be democratic, free and fair. They risk

strengthening the position of the Albanian extremists and the proponents of a mono-ethnic Kosovo.

We are obliged once again to draw the Secretariat's attention to its disregard of our repeated requests for specific information. Let me cite just one example. Three times, we have officially requested that members of the Security Council should be acquainted with the report of the Finnish forensic experts who investigated the tragedy that took place at Racak in March 1999. Information from that report was published in the German press last spring. To date, we have had no response to our requests. The wall of silence onto which our requests fall obliges us to think seriously about what it is that underlies the Kosovo crisis.

I had expected to take advantage of the Secretary-General's presence in the Chamber today to ask him personally to take the necessary steps to make it possible to acquaint members of the Council with that report, but, unfortunately, he is no longer here with us. I hope, however, that his colleagues will transmit our request — which we are making in this Chamber for the fourth time — to him.

It is our conviction that it is high time that the traditional accolades that are heaped upon the UNMIK leadership were replaced by a serious discussion of the situation in Kosovo, and of the Mission itself and of ways to remedy the present crisis situation. Holding such a discussion is a matter of urgency before there is a new wave of political violence, the full responsibility for which would fall on the leadership of the international presences. That responsibility will have to be shared by the members of the Security Council which, in considering the problems of Kosovo, have found it possible to speak solely and exclusively about the sins of Belgrade and to be entirely silent about the flagrant breaches of resolution 1244 (1999).

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): I too am very grateful to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for his briefing. I pay tribute to him and to the whole team of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) for their extraordinarily dedicated work in Kosovo in the most difficult circumstances. This is not just a traditional accolade; they, and we, are making progress in that province — net progress, but progress nevertheless.

At our last meeting on Kosovo, my delegation began by focusing on the arrest by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia authorities of two British policemen employed by UNMIK. It is time briefly to update the Council. More than eight weeks after their arrest, the detainees are still being held and have still not been charged. Two Canadian citizens and four Dutch citizens are being similarly treated. Although the conditions in which the men are being held have improved from the completely unacceptable, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia authorities are not respecting consular agreements. We call upon them to release the men immediately or to bring specific charges. As my delegation said last time, the two British policemen were contributing to stability and peace in Kosovo as part of the important work of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) under United Nations resolutions. It is in no one's interest that that work should be interrupted.

The United Kingdom is encouraged by the thorough preparations being made for October's municipal elections. Those elections are important because they are a key step in returning the governance of Kosovo to its people. We note that some 45,000 Serbs voted in safety in Kosovo in a different set of elections, on 24 September, elections which Ambassador Holbrooke has pointed out could change the whole character of what we are doing in the Balkans.

The United Kingdom thanks Mr. Kouchner and his team, together with the Kosovo Force (KFOR), for doing such an excellent job in witnessing those elections on 24 September, as well as in providing reassurance for voters in Kosovo. That has helped minimize the scope for malpractice by President Milosevic. We regret that, as it looks at present, those 45,000 Serbs and their compatriots will not be voting in Kosovo's municipal elections next month. But who knows? Perhaps democracy and non-violence have been born in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia this week. The effect could be quickly felt in all communities in Kosovo if President Milosevic draws the correct conclusions from the turn of the tide.

Although Serbs are reluctant at present to vote in Kosovo's elections, it is right that Kosovo's Serb community is represented in the local government structure. We welcome the agreement that Mr. Kouchner and UNMIK will appoint representatives to sit on municipal councils after the elections.

The Secretary-General sets out clearly in his report that security continues to be a problem throughout Kosovo. The United Kingdom has joined others, including its partners in the European Union, in condemning recent incidents of ethnic and political violence, not least by members of the Albanian community in Kosovo.

Mr. Kouchner and KFOR have continued to condemn the violence and to take what steps they can to address it. Just as important, most of Kosovo's political leaders have also spoken out against such violence. They gave their support to the principles of non-violence and inter-ethnic dialogue at the Airlie House meeting in Virginia in July, and that was extremely welcome. Thuggery by a vocal minority will not be allowed to decide Kosovo's future. We must build a security framework that facilitates return by Kosovo Serbs and others to their homes.

The incident mentioned just now by Ambassador Lavrov involving the Russian Ambassador and, as it happened, British KFOR troops on the boundary between Serbia and Kosovo was unfortunate, but those troops were doing their job at a time of increased tension and no disrespect was intended to the Russian Ambassador. Security was the only motivation and recent events in Gracanica have shown the need for vigilance in that respect.

The United Kingdom has noted the Secretary-General's appeal for more international judges and prosecutors. We share the Bangladeshi view that the administration of justice is a key issue for Kosovo. Indeed, the United Kingdom has offered large numbers of judges and prosecutors and stands ready to assist further. So far, however, we have been told that United Kingdom candidates are not required. Should we not be concentrating on increasing the number of international judges and prosecutors and give that priority over some other areas of UNMIK's work?

Whatever happens in Serbia proper over the next few days, we shall need UNMIK in Kosovo for some time to come. The United Kingdom will remain, politically and in practice, fully supportive of their efforts.

Mr. Shen Guofang (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, I wish to thank you, Sir, for arranging this formal meeting to consider the question of Kosovo in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

We also wish to thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kouchner, for his detailed briefing. He, along with the United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the Kosovo Force (KFOR), have done a great deal of work in very difficult circumstances. The Chinese delegation supports their efforts to ensure the full implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).

It is the view of the Chinese delegation that there has been no fundamental improvement in the situation of Kosovo. The security situation there is far from desirable. The atrocities and violence against Serbs and other minorities remain cause for grave concern. We support the positive role played by UNMIK in its efforts to promote tolerance and reconciliation and to prevent ethnic violence. We hope that UNMIK and KFOR will continue to adopt concrete measures to ensure that all residents of Kosovo can live without fear of violence, intimidation and harassment.

We welcome the fact that Kosovo minorities are beginning to return home, but their numbers and pace of return are far from satisfactory. It is our hope that UNMIK will continue to encourage the voluntary and safe return of the Kosovo minorities.

We have also noted the fact that the preparatory work for municipal elections is under way. In the current circumstances, we cannot help but be sceptical as to whether the elections can be conducted in a climate of freedom and peace. We are very disturbed by the recent increase in political violence. If the politically motivated violence perpetrated by extremists and hard-liners is allowed to continue uncurbed, the independence of Kosovo and the policy of ethnic cleansing will be legitimized. For a variety of reasons, Kosovo Serbs and most of the Kosovo Turkish communities have not participated in the process of civil registration. If the elections are held in such circumstances, the results cannot be expected to be perceived as fair and equitable and are likely to trigger ever more acute ethnic hostility. We expect UNMIK to adopt concrete measures to improve law and order and to help alleviate the fears of the minorities so that they will feel encouraged to participate in the electoral process.

Finally, we wish to emphasize that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must be respected. Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) specifically provides

for the status of Kosovo. No members of this Council recognize or support Kosovo as an independent State. Any course of action designed to steer Kosovo towards independence is dangerous and illegal. Unfortunately, however, some people are trying to do precisely that, which is absolutely unacceptable. It is our hope that UNMIK and the Special Representative himself will strictly adhere to the provisions of resolution 1244 (1999).

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of China for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Listre (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation commends you, Sir, for convening this meeting on the situation in Kosovo, which is of such consequence to the Security Council.

I thank the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kouchner, for his briefing and the members of the Joint Interim Administrative Structure for their presence here.

The very detailed report submitted by the Secretary-General on the work accomplished by the United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK) from 6 June to 18 September plainly attests to the magnitude and complexity of the Security Council mandate to that mission. We wish clearly to reaffirm our support for and acknowledgement of the work of Mr. Kouchner, UNMIK and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) and to thank them for their valiant efforts to ensure the transition of Kosovo towards authentic autonomy based on democratic institutions.

We wish to focus on a few of the issues that we deem to be essential. First, we wish clearly to offer our support for the electoral process and the elections to take place on 28 October. With regard to the civilian registry connected to the elections, it is certainly important that UNMIK meet the deadline. Material errors that have occurred in the registration process should not be overemphasized, since they can all be solved. We feel, however, that it is a matter for concern that, out of either fear or intimidation, most Kosovo Serbs have not registered. We support the electoral process despite those restrictions. We hope that, in the future, elections held in the context of that process will allow the Serb minority to feel sufficiently secure to participate and that it will do so in great numbers. That will mark the beginning of the legitimization of the authorities that we hope will become an inherent part of a general process leading towards pacification and a negotiated solution for the final status of Kosovo.

One concept that we support is the pact for civil society in Kosovo that paragraph 9 and the following in the Secretary-General's report (S/2000/878) mention. In accordance with the report, that pact would include the establishment of institutions which would make it possible for there to be a real autonomous government. This would take place during the transitional period of UNMIK. The Airlie Declaration is very auspicious. Now we have to implement the commitments entered into by the communities of Serbs and Albanians to respect the outcome of the elections and to respect ethnic realities. We also must flag the concern that we have regarding political violence.

In this regard we would like not only to address ourselves to the Serb minority but also to the Albanian majority. The people and leaders of Kosovo must not ignore the warning laid down by the Secretary-General in paragraph 115 of his report, that if violence occurs, the danger is run that they will lose international support and that there will be paralysis in the economic and social development of Kosovo.

One could not support the extreme positions of either side. Argentina gives its full support to UNMIK and KFOR in its work to ensure that all will act within the context of law and in conformity with democratic principles. We think that the status of Kosovo could not be decided in an isolated way. Dialogue with legitimate authorities from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the regional context are factors that we believe cannot be left to one side.

This is why we attach great importance to the elections that were held on 24 September in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, because we think that a democratic Government that enjoys full popular support is a valid interlocutor for addressing the final status of Kosovo. In this context, it should be obvious that we wish to recall that the basis of a democratic system is the respect for the will of the people expressed at the ballot box. We want that the results of the elections be fully respected.

Mr. Hamer (Netherlands): I wish to thank Mr. Kouchner for an account which was at once frank and thought provoking. I appreciate his frank assessment of UNMIK's achievements, but I would like to add that mistakes are a problem only if they are not corrected. In that sense, we have the fullest

confidence in Mr. Kouchner and the men and women of UNMIK.

Once again, I find myself in full agreement with the Special Representative and the concerns expressed by him about the security situation and continued inter-ethnic violence. I share also his concerns about missing persons and detainees in Serbia. I share Mr. Kouchner's assessment of the importance of the municipal elections he is organizing in Kosovo. And I agree with his insistence on the importance of joint multi-ethnic deliberative organs at the local level.

I will not therefore use the parts of my prepared statement dealing with those issues. Instead, I will pass directly to two points which relate more tangentially to Kosovo proper and concern the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia more directly.

We are all awaiting the final results of the elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The results as announced by the Federal Election Commission in Belgrade last night point to a clear victory for the opposition. We can only hope that President Milosevic will respect the will of the majority. If he does, and when democracy prevails, the people of Serbia, of Montenegro and, to be sure, of Kosovo can be certain of better days ahead.

My other point regarding the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia concerns the fate of the four Dutch nationals who, as Ambassador Greenstock today reminded us, along with two Canadians and two British citizens, are still being held, over two months later, under circumstances incompatible with the treaties and conventions to which the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a party. The preliminary detention of the four Dutch citizens has been extended by two more months until 17 November, and they remain in solitary confinement. Consular access is minimal, and so far the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia authorities have refused examination of the four by an independent physician. We call upon the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia authorities to end this travesty of justice and to accelerate legal proceedings so that these detainees may be released quickly.

Finally, to return to Kosovo, I would like to conclude by echoing Ambassador Levitte's upbeat suggestion that UNMIK's performance in Kosovo may yet become a true success story for the United Nations.

Mr. Heinbecker (Canada) (*spoke in French*): Let me first of all express a word of thanks to Mr. Kouchner for his extraordinary work. Let me say how pleased the Government of Canada is with everything that he has accomplished in those difficult circumstances.

(*spoke in English*)

I will turn to this situation in Kosovo in a moment. I would also like to make a few points on the issue of the election. The Yugoslav people have spoken. It is now clear that their voice will be respected by Mr. Kostunica. The question is whether the judgment of the Yugoslav people will now be respected by the regime in Belgrade.

We call upon the Belgrade regime to recognize that the situation has now changed. It is time to respect the views of the ordinary Serbs who have voted in such massive numbers. It is time to stop the games. Canada hopes to be able to welcome the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia back into the community of democratic nations. We remain hopeful that the elections on 24 September will lead to peaceful and democratic change in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

As soon as a Government committed to reform and reconciliation is firmly in place, Canada will join the international community in removing sanctions and ending the isolation of Yugoslavia.

On a related point, I would like to thank again Mr. Kouchner, to commend his effort and that of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), who did such an excellent job in making sure that, at least as regards Kosovo, it will not be possible for mass fraud to be perpetrated.

I have listened carefully to the words of Mr. Kouchner. I heard him say that we are in a low-conflict, but not yet a post-conflict situation. Compared to a year ago, we have made enormous progress. A million refugees returned. Schools reopened. A semblance of normal life for many people has returned. We have made a lot of progress, but we are certainly not in the homestretch yet. Particularly, it is appalling to us that any minority, and in this particular case the Serb minority, could be targeted with violence. It is unacceptable. We are grateful to UNMIK and to the Kosovo Force (KFOR) for their efforts to stop it and to prevent it.

As for the Kosovo elections, a word about that. We are also dismayed by the increasing intra-Albanian Kosovar criminality and the impact that that could have on the upcoming municipal vote.

Here again we are grateful for the work of Mr. Kouchner aimed at preventing violence and intimidation and at keeping them from being factors in the elections.

In this context, the recent promulgation of the print code of conduct by United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) is especially welcome. Independent, responsible and self-regulatory media outlets are strongly needed. We hope that the implementation of this code will contribute to fostering a democratic political culture as we approach the election and beyond.

We also welcome the recent appointment of a Special Envoy for missing and detained persons. We reinforce Mr. Kouchner's point that pressure from the international community will be critical to the resolution of this issue.

On a different plane, I can only refer to the comments made by the British Ambassador and by the Dutch delegation with respect to the detainees who are British, Dutch and Canadian citizens. It has been two months now, I think, that these people have been detained — since the Canadians were detained. The detainees have not been charged. They are as innocent today as they were the day they were arrested, and in fact it is perfectly clear to the Belgrade regime that they are innocent. It remains only for that regime to release those detainees.

In summary, we are very glad for this opportunity to hear from Mr. Kouchner, we are extremely impressed by the work he has done, and all that remains to be said is that we must all persevere in bringing this project to a democratic end. The election in Belgrade is a major step in that direction.

Mr. Ben Mustapha (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): I would like to congratulate you, Sir, for having convened this important meeting. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his report on the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). This report tells us about the activities of that Mission. We also thank above all Mr. Bernard Kouchner, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, for his extremely informative and edifying briefing on the situation in Kosovo.

Kosovo is going through a crucial phase in its history. For some time this region has seen important events, both internally and externally, which will no doubt have direct repercussions on developments in the situation in Kosovo and require the support and backing of the international community as a whole. In this connection I would like to welcome the initiatives to reconcile the communities in Kosovo and to encourage political dialogue between the various parties.

The initiative to convene the Airlie House Conference in Virginia at which an important declaration was unanimously adopted inspires the hope of seeing one day all this hatred and violence dissipate. It has laid the foundations for a democratic, multi-ethnic and peaceful society in Kosovo on the basis of free and transparent elections and has reaffirmed the right of return of all the refugees. Moreover, we consider that should the pact proposed by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General be accepted, it could contribute to protecting the rights of various ethnic communities. It thereby could pave the way to self-administration, in particular through the designation of the responsibilities and powers of the municipalities and the equitable representation of the minority communities within these structures.

All these initiatives cannot replace the active participation of the parties to the conflict. In effect we consider that all the political leaders of all the communities in Kosovo must shoulder their historic responsibilities. It is up to these leaders to promote tolerance and ensure that the voice of reason is heard.

I would like to take this opportunity to note the wise decision of the Serb National Council (SNC) of Gracanica to participate in the work of the Joint Interim Administrative Structure so as to play a constructive role in the implementation of several agreements. It is also to be noted with interest that the Serb National Council of Mitrovica will be participating in the work of the joint committee for returnees.

The completion, on schedule, of the first phase of the civil registration process and the adoption of the regulations for the municipal elections are a source of satisfaction for my delegation. We take this opportunity to encourage all the communities in Kosovo to take

part in these elections, which will lay the basis for a multi-ethnic society, which alone can guarantee lasting reconciliation in Kosovo. We also insist on the stringent application of the election code of conduct, in order to avoid any form of violence or intimidation that might reduce participation in the electoral process. We believe it important that these elections do not serve as pretext for exacerbating the ethnic divide and for promoting exclusion. In this connection I would like to pay tribute to the Kosovo Force (KFOR) for the preparation of a plan of action to thwart any violence during the electoral process.

As we have indicated in our previous statements, we consider that effective, impartial and independent justice can strengthen the convictions of all the inhabitants of Kosovo that there is a common future for all communities there. The deployment of judges and international prosecutors to the district courts is a measure that is building the minority communities' confidence in the judiciary system. It is also a way of combating the impunity that reigned in the past and which permitted the most heinous actions.

This is also why we think that we must encourage the initiatives taken in the context of the civilian police, in which my country is proud to be participating. In particular, we welcome the initiative to set up a task force to develop measures to combat ethnic violence, particularly against minorities.

To conclude, I think that the return of peace to Kosovo is a complex endeavour, but not an impossible one. The progress achieved since the arrival of UNMIK in Kosovo is appreciable. The success of the electoral operation is a crucial phase on the path towards reconciliation and peaceful coexistence for all the inhabitants of Kosovo.

I would like to pay special tribute to Mr. Bernard Kouchner for his tireless efforts for peace and also to his team and to the entire staff of UNMIK for their devotion.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Tunisia for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Hasmy (Malaysia): My delegation is thankful to you, Sir, for convening this meeting. It affords the Council another opportunity to further assess the progress made in the implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999).

We are grateful to the Secretary-General for his detailed report. We are pleased to welcome Mr. Bernard Kouchner back to the Council. We are grateful for his comprehensive and extremely useful update. We are impressed by the very strong commitment he has demonstrated in carrying out his onerous tasks. We continue to be impressed by his undiminished enthusiasm, which we witness every time he addresses this Council, as he has just done this afternoon. We appreciate his openness and candour in addressing the issues and problems he and the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) have had to face thus far. He does not duck these difficult issues. He has openly admitted mistakes that have been made, but through admitting them remedial actions have been taken. We welcome this candour, this transparency, which augurs well for the further progressive implementation of resolution 1244 (1999).

During previous meetings of the Council on Kosovo, my delegation has already articulated its views on a number of the issues raised by Mr. Kouchner in his briefing and those contained in the Secretary-General's report. Nevertheless, we take the opportunity to reaffirm once again Malaysia's strong support for Mr. Kouchner's leadership of UNMIK and his efforts in the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999) in Kosovo.

Clearly, UNMIK has made significant progress in the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999). We welcome the achievements that have been made so far. We note with satisfaction that the Mission has consolidated those achievements and continued with a whole range of further efforts to lay concrete foundations for peace, democracy and self-government, as well as for long-term development and reconstruction in Kosovo.

We now see a relatively smooth functioning of the various institutions or organs that have been established in Kosovo: the Joint Interim Administrative Structure, the Interim Administrative Council and the Kosovo Transitional Council. The representation of Kosovar ethnic minorities in these administrative and consultative organs is also being enhanced, while efforts are being made to further strengthen the Kosovo Protection Corps and the Kosovo Police Service. We further note that a number of important administrative regulations have been signed into law.

UNMIK is therefore on the right track towards the full implementation of resolution 1244 (1999). We are greatly encouraged by what Mr. Kouchner told us, and we encourage him and UNMIK to press ahead. Of course, success will depend on two factors of crucial importance: the continued strong support of the international community and the support, commitment and full cooperation of all leaders and people of Kosovo.

In the context of today's consideration of the subject, my delegation wishes to highlight the following five points.

First, we fully support Mr. Kouchner's decision and his actions with regard to the conduct of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia elections in Kosovo last Sunday, 24 September 2000. Considering the mandate of UNMIK and the complexity of the situation on the ground, those decisions and actions were entirely appropriate. We are relieved that the event passed without serious incidents. We hope that the outcome of those elections will have a positive impact on the overall situation in Kosovo.

Secondly, we welcome the successful conduct of the civil registration process in Kosovo. This is certainly one of UNMIK's major achievements and, in the words of the Secretary-General,

> "an important milestone on the province's path to self-governance" (S/2000/878, para. 114).

The focus is now on the preparatory work for the municipal elections and the actual conduct of the elections themselves on 28 October 2000. We look forward to these elections. However, their success can only be guaranteed by the active support of the international community, as well as the support and cooperation of all Kosovar political forces, and ultimately the full participation of all registered voters. We have repeatedly urged the participation of all communities in the registration process and in the upcoming municipal elections. We trust that the efforts of Mr. Kouchner and UNMIK in this regard will bear fruit.

Thirdly, the continuing precarious security situation in Kosovo is completely unacceptable. The recurrence of ethnically motivated violence and the apparent increase in politically motivated violence and acts of harassment overshadow the substantial progress made in the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999). There also exist some irresponsible elements that are out to sabotage the process. Their actions should not be tolerated. We therefore support the continued efforts by UNMIK and the Kosovo Force (KFOR) to tackle the security problem effectively, including the recent measures to improve the overall security situation and the protection given to members of political parties. While the two missions work to enhance their capacity to deal with the security problem effectively, success will ultimately depend on the strong commitment, political will and full cooperation of all leaders of Kosovo's different ethnic communities. We therefore urge all Kosovars — leaders and people at every level — to play their part in fighting extremism and promoting inter-ethnic harmony.

In the context of UNMIK's efforts to curb crimes, we were impressed with the success attained by UNMIK so far, as graphically presented by Mr. Kouchner today, from a high of 300 major offences in a week in June this year down to less than about 30 in September. This is highly impressive.

Fourthly, Mitrovica undoubtedly remains a potential flashpoint in Kosovo. We fully support the efforts by UNMIK and KFOR to enhance security in this area. It is imperative that UNMIK assert its authority throughout the northern part of Kosovo, as it has done elsewhere in the territory.

Finally, the twin issues of missing persons and the continued detention of Kosovar Albanians in jails in Serbia remain a major concern that requires an early solution. We warmly welcome the appointment of Ambassador Henrik Amneus as the Special Envoy responsible for this matter. We earnestly hope that this appointment will greatly contribute to finding a comprehensive solution to this important human rights and humanitarian problem, which should have a positive impact on the overall reconciliation process in Kosovo. We, however, agree with Mr. Kouchner on the need for the international community and this Council to exert pressure on the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia so as to change its uncompromising stand on this issue. Without the necessary pressure, the Special Envoy's efforts will be thwarted by Belgrade and the missing persons will remain missing. This is completely unacceptable, especially in the light of what Mr. Kouchner has just told us about the torture that those in detention are being subjected to. This is outrageous conduct on the part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia prison

authorities, for which they should be made accountable.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Malaysia for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Yel'chenko (Ukraine): I thank both Mr. Kouchner for his briefing and the Secretary-General for the submission of the report on the activities of the United Nations Interim Administrative Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK).

We have noticed many positive developments in Kosovo due to UNMIK's efforts in all areas of its responsibilities, specifically the completion of the civil registration process, the issuance of a number of regulations, in particular on self-government of municipalities and municipal elections, the adoption of the Airlie Declaration and many others.

In our view, the real achievements of the Mission over the past three months have been the ongoing participation of the moderate Kosovo Serbs in the joint interim structures, the completing of the Kosovo Turkish representation in the Kosovo Transitional Council, and the appointment of more than 400 additional local judges and prosecutors on a multi-ethnic basis as well as the appointment of additional international judges and prosecutors to the district courts of Kosovo.

At the same time, the dire security situation in the province, in particular with regard to the protection of minority communities and human rights, continues to cause us grave concern. Ethnically motivated violence is not decreasing. Since ensuring a secure environment, public safety and order is one of the major responsibilities of the international civil and military presences in Kosovo, it is to a very significant degree the yardstick by which the overall success of UNMIK and KFOR activities is judged. Against this background, UNMIK and KFOR activities are not fully satisfactory and should be intensified. The table circulated to us is very good, but it is not fully convincing because it has one flaw in its title: "Reported major offences in Kosovo". What about the under-reported offences, and who is to determine the difference between major and minor offences?

Nevertheless, we support the relevant initiatives of UNMIK and KFOR; in particular, the decision of UNMIK police on developing a Special Security Task Force to combat ethnically targeted violence. It is our hope that a special police unit from Ukraine, which completed its deployment in Kosovo last week, will be helpful in this regard. The recent seizure by KFOR and UNMIK police of illegal weapons and explosives in Gračanica are also praiseworthy. Given the rise in politically motivated violence in Kosovo in the run-up to the municipal elections, UNMIK's activities to establish both an Information Coordination Group and an Operational Task Force to implement security strategies against political violence are timely.

We assess positively the decision of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to appoint Ambassador Amneus of Sweden as her Special Envoy on persons deprived of liberty in connection with the Kosovo crisis in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. According to the Secretary-General's report, the Special Envoy's mandate will cover all persons deprived of liberty, including prisoners, detainees and missing persons in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, regardless of ethnicity. In our view, the mandate reflects an objective and balanced approach to this highly sensitive issue.

The initial phase of civil registration, despite almost no participation by the Serb and Turkish communities, was generally recognized as successfully completed more than a month ago. In August it was announced that about 1 million applications from Kosovo residents had been registered, and the list of 5,500 political candidates for municipal elections was issued. A large number of those applications are now undergoing a review that is to be completed by the end of September. We acknowledge the work done by UNMIK in preparation for the October municipal elections. At the same time, there are different pieces of information — including the one referred to by Ambassador Lavrov — that indicate the registration process did not go so well. We are afraid that it would be difficult to rectify the situation before the 28 October elections. We would like to invite Mr. Kouchner's comments on this issue.

With regard to the matter of the Zvecan lead smelter, as we said in August, the intentions of UNMIK to undertake a clean-up of the plant and the surrounding environment are more than welcome. However, there are still doubts about whether it was really necessary to assume control of the complex through the use of force. It is also important to ensure that all the former workers at Trepca — whose

demonstrations still continue — will not be deprived of the opportunity to get their jobs back as soon as the complex is reopened.

We learned from the Secretary-General's report about the presentation by Mr. Kouchner of his initial concept of a pact for Kosovo society, which will involve the elaboration of a legal framework for substantial autonomy and community protection during the interim administrative period. Since that concept has not been presented to the Security Council, we request Mr. Kouchner to do so as soon as it is finalized. In our view, in adopting the pact one should avoid the risk of prejudging in it the final status issue, as the document will touch upon the legal side of the substantial autonomy of Kosovo. Therefore, we call on Mr. Kouchner to be vigilant about the substance of the pact and to ensure that it is not seen as a substitution for the would-be outcome of possible negotiations on Kosovo's final status.

I could not overlook in my comments the most important recent event in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that is, the Yugoslav presidential, federal and municipal elections held three days ago. We are convinced that whatever the results of the elections in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, UNMIK and KFOR must continue to pursue their efforts towards fulfilling their main responsibilities under resolution 1244 (1999), namely, to promote Kosovo's substantial autonomy and self-governance within the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia while fully respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

In conclusion, I wish Mr. Kouchner and all the staff of UNMIK and KFOR every success in pursuit of their mandates.

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): Let me join other members of the Council in welcoming the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Bernard Kouchner. We thank him for his frank and informative briefing on developments in Kosovo. We also thank the Secretary-General for the comprehensive report on the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999).

My delegation recognizes that despite the many challenges still facing the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), there has been progress made over the past 15 months in many areas, including in reconstruction, health, education, local administration, public services, agriculture and in the rule of law. In addition, the report indicates that the macroeconomic fundamentals are largely in place.

The concerted effort being made by UNMIK to build local capacity throughout Kosovo is critical for long-term sustainability. For example, the joint UNMIK-United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) preparatory assistance project focuses on the development of planning and management capabilities in several municipalities.

We note with satisfaction the progress made in the civil registration process. Despite the problems encountered, we sincerely hope that all ethnic minorities will eventually feel confident enough to participate in the civil registration. We also note the related progress made in the preparations for the forthcoming municipal elections, including the adoption of regulations and central electoral rules governing, inter alia, key elements of the election process and procedures designed to prevent fraud. My delegation believes that minority participation is, in the long run, critical to the creation of a multi-ethnic society, which will not be possible without reconciliation between the communities.

It is against this background that I must express my delegation's concern about the security situation, the situation of detained and missing persons and violations of human rights. The reports of politically motivated violence are disturbing because that violence can have a destabilizing effect and can reverse the achievements already realized. Kosovo has indeed come a long way in the past 15 months, and it cannot risk jeopardizing support and crippling its potential economic and social development.

We note that minority communities continue to suffer threats, intimidation and violent attacks. These incidents could undermine the attempts made to foster tolerance and coexistence. We therefore commend the initiatives launched by Mr. Kouchner to improve conditions for minority communities, and his direct contacts with the non-Serb minority population. We join his call for Kosovo leaders to condemn acts of violence, to commit themselves to respecting the results of the municipal elections and to promote tolerance and engagement between the various ethnic communities.

My delegation takes very seriously the reports of the discoveries from time to time by the Kosovo Force (KFOR) of large caches of weapons. While we

commend UNMIK and KFOR for their continued vigilance, we are not reassured by the wide array of weaponry that is obviously still in circulation.

My delegation sees the issue of detained and missing persons as one of the main obstacles to peace-building, reconciliation and tolerance, as it remains a major source of tensions in inter-ethnic relations. We therefore welcome the appointment by the High Commissioner for Human Rights of Ambassador Henrik Amneus as her Special Envoy on persons deprived of liberty. I note that his mandate covers detainees and missing persons related to the Kosovo crisis, regardless of ethnicity. We regard this as a positive development, and we hope it will contribute to the solution of this problem, which affects all communities in Kosovo. Families of the missing and detained persons deserve to know the fate of their loved ones.

While there has been a dramatic reduction in crime and a substantial improvement in the rule of law — particularly in the training of judges and police and in the appointment of an ombudsman — we note that the court system has suffered from inconsistencies in approach to the applicable law and from a lack of understanding of the relevant international human rights law. We therefore commend those countries that have provided assistance to the judicial process.

We note, however, that UNMIK police confirm that trafficking in persons, particularly in women, is a growing and serious problem in Kosovo. We hope that the draft regulation on trafficking will be speedily put into force. The victims of trafficking must not only be given physical assistance, but also psychological assistance to deal with their ordeal.

In conclusion, I wish to reiterate Jamaica's support for UNMIK. We salute the men and women of UNMIK under the dynamic and tireless leadership of Mr. Kouchner as they seek to implement the resolutions of the Security Council, despite the difficulties and constraints under which they operate.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): I would like to thank the President for convening this important meeting. May I also thank the Secretary-General for his report, and Special Representative Kouchner for his comprehensive briefing on the situation in Kosovo, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

My delegation notes with appreciation the progress made by the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), including its timely completion of phase one of the civil registration process, the establishment of the judicial system and the rule of law and the overhaul of the security and management of the penal system, as well as the continuing political dialogue between UNMIK and the local population through town hall meetings in villages and municipalities across the province.

Although intimidation and violence against minority ethnic communities are increasing, we take solace in the return of the Serb National Council of Gracanica to both the Joint Interim Administration and the Kosovo Transitional Council. Similarly, we appreciate the representation of the Kosovo Turkish community in the Kosovo Transitional Council. In this context, we support the Special Representative and encourage him to continue sharing the values and culture of democratic institutions with the people of Kosovo in a manner that will encourage them to live and work together in harmony.

On the security situation, my delegation is concerned by the rise in politically motivated violence, particularly violence directed against UNMIK and KFOR personnel, as well as violence against the minority ethnic communities in the province. Once again we are encouraged through a series of initiatives undertaken by the Special Representative to address this problem. These include the establishment of a special police force and, in cooperation with KFOR, the identification of specific steps to improve physical security for minority ethnic communities.

In conclusion, we commend the Special Representative, Mr. Kouchner, and the UNMIK personnel for their dedication and their good work in Kosovo on behalf of the international community. Having said that, I wish to reiterate that my delegation would like to see the full implementation of Security Council resolution 1244 (1999), and that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must be respected by all.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the representative of Namibia for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Mali.

In view of the fact that most of the concerns of my delegation have already been expressed by previous speakers, I shall simply make three brief comments.

First, I should like to associate the delegation of Mali with the tribute that was paid to Mr. Bernard Kouchner, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, and to all the teams he has set up. His briefing today made it possible for us to accurately assess the important progress made in the civilian administration in Kosovo. But it seems that at the same time, the progress has been hampered by continued acts of ethnic violence. We consider that the accomplishments cannot be maintained if there is an atmosphere of violence and fear, so we think that equal importance must continue to be given to promoting reconciliation and tolerance.

Secondly, I turn to the matter of elections. We give our full support to the electoral process, particularly the local elections that will be held in October. They are an important contribution to building a multi-ethnic society. So that the people of Kosovo can invest themselves in this process, it seems important, in fact necessary, to ensure that all ethnic groups participate in the process.

Thirdly, let me say that we concur with Malaysia and Jamaica in particular with regard to civil registration, disappeared persons and detainees.

Finally, let me repeat to Mr. Kouchner how very much my delegation supports his many initiatives in implementing resolution 1244 (1999).

I now resume my function as President of the Council. I give the floor to Mr. Kouchner to respond to comments and questions.

Mr. Kouchner (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank you for both your words of appreciation and your criticism. Positive appreciation seems to have won the day, I think, but of course I am not in the right position to judge that. I am grateful to the Ambassadors of the Russian Federation and China for having provided us by their criticism an opportunity to improve our work. I have a great deal of respect for these countries and the personalities of the Ambassadors, and I would like to respond to them quickly.

Some 15 months ago, you probably would not have spoken thus. I believe, quite modestly, that I have done my best. I think that those who have visited this region, Kosovo, at least on two occasions can testify that the situation has radically changed, practically changed, technically changed, materially changed, and I would even say that on a routine, day-to-day basis it has changed.

As for change in attitude and conduct, more time will be necessary. Even the Security Council can do nothing there. Human conduct has a timeframe which is not the same as that of either the media or of politics. That notwithstanding, I share your impatience and frustration.

Thirteen centuries of confrontation between these ethnic groups, these peoples, these communities — thirteen centuries of not living together, thirteen centuries of not talking with each other, thirteen centuries of not seeing each other, and you want violence to stop in 15 months?

I do understand political impatience, but I also believe that we have to remain reasonable, and reason may return bit by bit to Kosovo. Do not believe that we are indifferent to violence. In the marvelous team that I have the honour to lead we devote all our energies to trying to staunch that violence, to reduce it. Look at the level of violence elsewhere in the world; you hardly need to do that to believe me. Just look at this curve of violence and you will see. It is not just Kosovo where there is violence. We spend our time in trying with the police — and that includes 49 nations — to innovate and make the international community's intervention more effective. Fortunately — and I remember next to me a few months ago General Klaus Reinhardt was here to affirm this — we have the possibility of requesting the soldiers of KFOR to intervene with a view to tempering that violence. But it is not a soldier's job to extemporize civilian police work, although they do it very well. At some point we will need to do what the Brahimi report has urged: we will have to create the conditions necessary for peace so that peacekeeping missions and missions to impose a peace — because one cannot keep a peace that does not exist — can do their jobs. We must understand how necessary it is to train international police together so that they can be effective. And of course, those police officers should not be penalized in any country for participating.

I have heard the Council's impatience, and I share that impatience. We experience that impatience every day. Members have paid tribute to the team that I lead; by myself I can do nothing, and I am nothing. The Secretary-General appointed me to head the Mission, which was a great honour. But nothing could have been

done without the dedication and tireless work of all the staff members of the agencies, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) the European Union and, especially, the United Nations. They are a brilliant, dedicated, creative team who work night and day. I think that anyone who has visited the region can attest to their dedication to the implementation of resolution 1244 (1999) and to peace in the region. I am proud to be heading that team, which is a very exceptional one indeed.

Mr. Holbrooke of the United States spoke the truth about the historic moment we are experiencing. I do not wish at present to take a position on the events in Belgrade, but I think that I might venture to say that this is a unique opportunity for our Serb friends and for the Serb people to reach out to democracy. They have shown their will to do that. We must help them not to miss this opportunity. I am certain that the majority of Serbs — certainly those with whom I have dealt in Kosovo and those I know who come from Belgrade and elsewhere — have awaited this opportunity with high hopes. Let us not disappoint them. This is indeed an opportunity for the Serb people to live up to its historic calling in this region, for peace, justice and democracy. Our Serb friends expect us to support them. I listened to Ambassador Holbrooke's flattering remarks about the Mission, and I thank him very warmly.

The representative of Bangladesh rightly observed that the elections are essential for the restoration of peace. I agree — and so do 13 out of 15 countries. That does not mean that the other two are wrong, but it is still a nice majority. How can we hope to restore democracy if we do not play out the scenario of elections to its very end. And that scenario begins with local elections. It is not an enormous thing that after a year and a half we are asking that the existing municipal councils be endorsed or modified. Those municipal councils do indeed exist and do indeed engage in administration, with the involvement of UNMIK. They administer daily life in the municipalities. We will give them democratic legitimacy and will place better means at their disposal. And that is all. Serbs are already working in those municipalities, and they will continue to do so. I am sorry that once again Serbs have not registered to vote, but I am sure that they will participate in this endeavour.

Is a year and a half enough? Is it too long? How much longer should we wait? Should we wait for the violence to stop again? Well, centuries have gone by and have not been long enough to eliminate that violence. Should we wait another year, or two, or three? Is there a criterion? I do not know. We shall see if history vindicates me; if it does not, it will vindicate some members of the Council, and I will be the first to acknowledge the mistake. But I do not think that history will prove me wrong. I think that the roots of democracy will be found in these municipal elections and that they will later spread.

Here again, I am thinking of what the representative of Bangladesh said: that the security situation will improve thanks to these elections, because we will be giving people responsibility. That is the only way to show respect for them, the only way to show that they are considered to be full-fledged citizens. I hope rather that the violence will diminish during the electoral campaign. I hope I am not wrong, but it is curious that there has been less violence ever since the start of the campaign, as though the campaign had caused this phenomenon psychologically and sociologically. If an outlet is provided by the international community for making these arguments, we will all have reason to rejoice.

Yesterday, for the first time, the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), Mr. Rugova's party, was rather passive. Of course, we saw the first of the public demonstrations by Mr. Rugova; never had there been so many people demonstrating in Pristina. Mr. Rugova made a speech, and there was not one single incident. I myself systematically witnessed the launching of every party's campaign so as not to be selective. I think this marked the beginning of democracy. So yesterday there was a very important event at Pristina: the beginning of the LDK campaign. That might not seem so significant, but in Kosovo it is astonishing if you think about the background of the two key actors: the former KLA and the LDK. I hope this trend will continue.

I thank the representative of France for having given me the opportunity to pay tribute to the team I lead, in Pristina and throughout the country, who are activists more than bureaucrats.

Will any momentum be generated by these elections in these communities? I think so; I hope so. Will we see a rejection of hatred and a movement towards positions of peace and reconciliation? I hope so. Once again, we have to understand that these were opposing sides, and that indeed they were fighting one

another. I would say to the representative of the Russian Federation that it is paradoxical that I should be criticized for organizing elections. I have also been rightly criticized for accepting certain parties who were imposed in the municipalities during the war. By what miracle could I have got rid of them other than through the miracle of democracy? The majority of those who were imposed in the municipalities will undoubtedly be rejected in the future through a vote, or they will hold other posts. I hope that will be done in the best possible spirit; it is the only way to possibly remove those who did not enjoy legitimacy from the posts they occupied by force. That is how I would respond to some of Ambassador Lavrov's arguments.

It is not that I am too optimistic; I try to be a realist. I am trying not to forget my limitations or the great principles of resolution 1244 (1999), which it is my job to implement, and which I am implementing willingly. But let us rely on the facts for our criticisms; they are enough.

Let me say one word about the article in the *Financial Times*. Never did I speak of independence, never in one and a half years: not once have I done that in public. I acknowledge that the phrase in the *Financial Times* was an ambiguous one; I know it by heart — as one can imagine, I read it. But this was simply a case of incorrect interpretation.

The population of Kosovo admits that it is contemplating independence. I believe that we must apply resolution 1244 (1999), which speaks of "substantial autonomy", and that the Kosovars, or some among them, took this to refer to a phase. That was not my personal opinion. You will never, ever find me remiss in the interpretation of that phrase, but I apologize if my statement was misunderstood.

I recall the incident that was referred to by the Russian Ambassador, particularly since I have here the card of his colleague, Mr. Valery Yegoshkin, who visited me for an hour and a half. I was very pleased to meet and speak with him. We got along very well. During the one and a half hours I spent with him, he had no complaints. He said nothing about an arrest. If he had, I would have looked into it. On behalf of the international community, which I represent in part — though not on behalf of the Kosovo Force, which I do not represent — I offer our apologies if Mr. Yegoshkin was detained too long. Although I do not offer excuses for anyone, Mr. Yegoshkin was crossing the border at a time when security was important and when the announcement of federal elections — particularly the presidential and the National Assembly elections of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia — made the situation extremely explosive. I am sorry that Mr. Yegoshkin was detained too long at the border. I assure the Russian Ambassador that there was no ulterior motive for that.

Reference was made to the attitude of the Doctors Without Borders organization. I am grateful for that. I was involved in the establishment of that organization. I was somewhat pained by the attitude of some people who, instead of making constructive criticisms in a difficult situation, left in protest against violence. Fortunately, they were replaced by other doctors of that organization and I believe their protest served no purpose. One must sometimes protest, but not against one's friends.

I agree that no one is happy at the level of excessive violence, but it is in constant decline. Once again, I offer the statistical charts demonstrating that, although I do not attach too much importance to statistics. One single incident makes me indignant, too. However, we did have a profoundly, historically, humanly, sociologically and psychopathologically volatile situation. How can that be expected to disappear in one and a half years? Look at what is occurring in other peacekeeping missions. I will not be callous enough to mention some by name, but the level of violence is extremely high. That is the way it is. Obviously, there would be no peacekeeping missions without violence. So we do what we can and our people work day and night, but they cannot stand behind every individual or guarantee personal security to everyone. Unfortunately, that is impossible.

Let us make no mistake. The pact is in no way a legal one. It is entirely a moral and emotional one. I ask them to guarantee democratic elections without violence so that we will be in a better position to discuss their future. Of course, I make no one sign a political or legal statement.

I am pleased that the Russian Ambassador referred to provisional autonomy, as we did in Tokyo. It is in that context that I shall try to move ahead, thanks to the pact, after the municipal elections. Not only did we propose this to the Joint Interim Administrative Structure (JIAS), but we have tried and continue to try — as Mr. Ivansov behind me, who is in

charge of policy at UNMIK, can attest — to see the official representatives of Belgrade every day or almost every day.

I am glad that the Russian Ambassador cited the Kosovar newspaper *Koha Ditore* for its acute criticism of the registration process, but I should have liked him also to cite the paper's correction of that article, since the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) pointed out that it was based on entirely mistaken premises. In any case, I am very pleased that he mentioned that newspaper, which is indeed an example of increasing open-mindedness among the Kosovar daily press.

I shall naturally try to see to it that the mistakes that have been referred to are put to rights, but I am not the one who will do it. That will be up to the JIAS, the OSCE and UNMIK. In the registration process, which is being carried out according to very up-to-date methods using databases, there are certain elements that were understandably skewed. It would, unfortunately, take too long to explain, but there are procedures known as "invitations to tender". These invitations were won by the Indians. We therefore sent these Albanian-language databases to the Indians. There were occasional errors made in the retranscription of people's names or place names. That is why it was claimed that 30 per cent of the data banks were in error. But that is not true. We are in the process of correcting the errors, which we feel will fall within a margin of 1 to 5 per cent, which is more or less the acceptable margin in all monitored elections. There will be no 30 per cent margin of error. I can guarantee that. We are working tirelessly on this.

This was not the first time that reference has been made to that Finnish document. I am entirely ready myself to request the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, which is in charge of these investigations, to take that Finnish document into account.

I have also seen the statement concerning the liaison office that we have opened with the representatives of Pristina in Albania. I would like to know why, although there are 30 similar offices open in Kosovo, that country would be more stigmatized than another. I believe that there is nothing in international politics or law to make a particular case against Albania. These are commercial offices. There is no diplomatic representation, let it be clear. No one in any of these offices has diplomatic status.

I think that I have responded to many of the questions that were posed, although perhaps not in enough detail to a specific point that the representative of the United Kingdom raised. I agree with him. I know that he has proposed many — perhaps as many as 40 — judges and prosecutors, who were considered by those in charge of the legal department. Some of his candidates have already been accepted. I have just met with one of the them in Pristina. I thank the British Ambassador. These judges are extremely useful to us and I think we need many more of them. I thank him for having proposed them.

The representative of China said that there were improvements to be made, for which I thank him. Yes, of course, certainly not all minorities are still able to enjoy the full freedom which, as I said in my briefing, we could wish for them. We have to change habits. We have to change a society. Have you ever seen a society that could change in a year and a half? I do not refer to any of the societies represented here, but it takes centuries to change them. I therefore cannot see why we should be reproached, given the efforts we are making, for not having performed such a miracle in a year and a half. I assure you that we or our successors will succeed.

Moreover, the representative of Argentina responded instantly to the effect that it is complex and difficult. Yes, it is very complex and very difficult to confront, with limited resources, these communities' refusal to communicate with each other. I am asked about the beginning of reconciliation, but there has never been conciliation. If reconciliation is to take place, people need to get to know each other. They have never known each other. This is, after all, one of the only places in the world where people have never spoken to each other, where they have not been taught in the same language.

In the hospitals, there were Serb and Albanian doctors and nurses. They worked together but they did not speak to each other. They ate at separate tables in the refectory. That is pretty symbolic to anyone who is familiar with hospitals. That is how it was: they never spoke to each other. It is the only spot in the world where you can ask a Serb architect if he knows an Albanian architect or a Serb doctor if he knows an Albanian architect, and he does not. No one wants to

answer. And when they do know someone — there is a sort of 200-metre radius within which the neighbours know each other, 200 metres but no farther. It is a special type of society, but it will evolve, just like all others.

I would like to thank the representative of the Netherlands, whose concerns I share, for his country's support to date, and for its continuing support. I am very grateful for that. We know that we can appeal to some countries, such as the Netherlands, even in the most urgent circumstances, when fast decisions have to be taken. You never fail to respond, and I am grateful.

Let me thank Canada as well, because it is one of the countries that we also turn to at times, just as we turn to all the countries represented here. I hope we will be excused for the abruptness with which we sometimes do this. With regard to the media code that the representative of Canada referred to, yes, it is highly theoretical, and it must also be applied. But what can one expect? Polemics and personal denunciations are a part, perhaps too much a part, of the political campaign that is waged daily, as can be seen in the newspapers. Should we halt the publication of a newspaper when somewhat sharp denunciations appear? This is a very sensitive matter, because at the same time we want to respect freedom of the press. We did close a newspaper for eight days; that was our great demonstration. Now we have a mediator who is trying to make the journalists understand that the code must be followed.

I thank the representative of Tunisia for his encouragement. I shall convey his regards to the Serb National Council. Reduce violence: well, I shall try again to respond. Yes, we try to do that every day. Justice is absolutely essential. In order to reduce violence, there cannot be any more impunity, and to put an end to impunity, the police must be able to arrest suspects and bring them to justice. The judicial system is still flawed, even if it is getting better, and even if there have been trials and there are now enough judges for us to deal with the situation. It is not impossible, but it is difficult.

Malaysia put forward five points: elections, minority participation, crime, Mitrovica and of course missing persons. I appreciate that. We have talked about these things in the field. I am in favour of frankness, and I try to be frank myself, but it is not always easy, as diplomats know. Sometimes, to make progress one has to use persuasion rather than speak frankly about one's disappointments. I have learned that, which proves that one can learn at any age.

Regarding whether we can correct the registration process, the representative of Ukraine asked three specific questions, and I appreciate the comments that preceded those questions. Can the registration process be corrected by 28 October? No. If we did not do it before, we cannot do it now. As I said earlier, the registration process has been carried out by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the technical workers, and — Mr. Lavrov talked about this — many independent experts came and contributed. For three months we have been trying to correct the registration process. Will the result be 100 per cent acceptable? Certainly not 100 per cent, but within a range of 1 per cent to 5 per cent, we think. In any case, this percentage can be corrected on the very day when the elections are held, when the voters go to vote; the corrections will be made by hand. Beforehand, we will publish the lists of voters and make them available to the voters in all municipalities two weeks ahead of time, and then one last time the lists can be corrected by our team, by hand. And then we will have a day for registration. I hope that most, if not all, of the defects will be corrected. As for reopening the process, that is not possible, and that was not the spirit of the question asked.

It is very clear that the Zvecan smelting plant workers were paid. There were 600 workers, and 3,000 people were paid. Those whose grandparents had worked there came. The employees of all the factories connected with the Zvecan smelter were also paid. We tried to pay them in dinars; I have often been criticized for paying in deutsche marks. Those people had been paid by Belgrade for years in dinars. Only 10 per cent accepted dinars, while 90 per cent wanted deutsche marks, and we paid in deutsche marks. They are being paid quite a bit more than before, and they are being asked to resume work. We do not have any business plan yet for the complex, but we found money, which was not easy for us to do in a year, so that the emloyees' security could be guaranteed. Security was the first consideration. We have asked 300 of the 600 former workers at Zvecan to work at the plant again. As of now their response is under negotiation; they want 3,000 to work or none at all. That is not possible; there were 600 workers, and there cannot be 3,000. We are negotiating with them so that 300 can work now

and others can join them soon. We think — though I could be wrong about this — that in approximately six to eight months, minimum international norms will be re-established at the smelter. Afterwards we will see. During that time the experts will be working. Fortunately, France, the United States and Sweden quickly provided money to ensure security and safety, and we are already at work with that money.

As for the pact, as I have said before, it is not a legal pact, but an emotional or even a moral pact. "As soon as you hold clean elections, we will talk about substantial autonomy", with debates everywhere, as a number of representatives have recalled.

In response to the representative of Jamaica, we have found some caches of weapons in the Balkans. This is not particularly surprising. True, the arms were not turned in, but in the Balkans in general, and in this region of the Balkans in particular, there are weapons everywhere. Of course, the more we find, the better. I am also pleased that Ambassador Amneus has been appointed. Again, his mandate must include both the prisoners of war and missing persons. But we must move fast. I talked about 68 people who were on a hunger strike. I do not think that violence can be eliminated until news of missing persons is available, even if it is tragic news, because I am sure that many of them are dead. I am sorry to say this. I have started to tell this to the families of the missing persons. Nurturing hope is sometimes very harmful psychologically, and even for society at large. The regulations on trafficking are to be published very soon. Let me emphasize the role of women in Kosovar associations and the role I hope they will play in reducing violence, which began with the electoral campaign. The role of women in the electoral campaign is to encourage democratic debate and perhaps to reduce violence.

Let me say to the representative of Namibia that the allusion to the Turkish population pleases me, because the minorities — those who were not represented in the Kosovo Transitional Council finally came. I appreciate the emphasis given to this. We have negotiated amply to make sure that all members of the Turkish community can participate in the electoral process. Unfortunately, it was requested that Turkish be the third official language. There is an agreement with Ankara — the negotiations were difficult, but respected basic democratic ideals — and we were pleased. In the end, despite that agreement, some Turkish parties did not accept the agreement and wanted their community, which probably numbers about 20,000, to have their language treated as an official language. That was far too complicated and impossible to accept. Nonetheless, almost half of the Turkish community registered to vote, but because of the date other Turkish people were unable to do so. I am grateful for this interest in the representation of minorities.

I thank the President for the comments he made, in his capacity as representative of Mali, about the progress achieved. He used the words reconciliation and tolerance. I share your feeling that reconciliation is necessary. But I believe that before reconciliation — as I have said here in the Council since the outset — we have to talk about coexistence.

The wounds are too fresh, the conflict too ancient. Thirteen centuries on the one side, one year on the other. We cannot talk about reconciliation immediately. Let us talk about conciliation and, first and foremost, about peaceful coexistence. When they stop threatening one another, when the communities agree to at least the status quo, then I hope we can open the door to the very, very beginnings of reconciliation. And this will take many years.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank Mr. Kouchner for the explanations and replies he has given us.

There are no further speakers inscribed my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.